

THE JEWS OF HUNGARY

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THE JEWS OF HUNGARY

Population; Refugees.

According to the last official census (1930), the number of confessing Jews in Hungary was 444,567, or 5.1% of the total population. Territorial changes following the Munich agreement augmented the Jewish population under Hungarian rule approximately as follows:

Some 75,000 Jews in Southern Slovakia (in Hungarian terminology, the "Upper Land") were shifted from Czechoslovakia rule; about 90,000 were added with the occupation of Carpatho-Ruthenia; some 160,000 came in the transfer of Northern Transylvania from Roumanian control, and 15,000 were added after the Nazi attack on Yugoslavia.

The available data on conversion to Christianity cover only the pre-Munich territory, and are not complete. After the Communist regime and the counter-revolutionary period of 1919, which brought acute anti-Semitism, 11,146 Jews became Christians. Between 1919 and 1937, official estimates state that an average of 400 were converted annually, a number almost counterbalanced by an annual average of 300 to 350 conversions of Christians to Judaism. In 1938, the vain hope of escaping the consequences of the First Jew Law prompted another 8,584 Jews to assume Christianity. Regarding the annexed territories, the total number of conversions that took place there after 1930 may be estimated 35,000.

According to the census of 1930, 204,371 Jews, or 46% of the total pre-Munich Jewish population lived in Budapest, the capital, where they made up 20.3% of the population. By the end of 1935, their number had decreased to 201,069. In the most important regions under Hungarian control in 1943, the percentages of Jewish population were: Transdanubia: 2.3%, the Hungarian Lowland (incl. Budapest 6.9%, Zemplen county: 8.5%, Szabolcs and Ung counties: 6.5%, Szatmar, Ugocsa and Bereg counties: 6.2%, former Slovak territory: 4.1%, former Carpatho-Ruthenia: 14.1%, Transylvania: 4.2% and former Yugoslav territory: 1%. The average percentage of Jews in the general urban population in 1930 was 14.8%, in the rural population 2.8%.

The Jewish population in Hungary began to decrease in 1920, with the inception of anti-Semitic policies. From 1920 to 1930, the total number of Jews dropped from 473,355 to 444,567, or a decrease of 28,788, while the general population increased by 698,117. During this period, the natural increase among the Jews was only 2,256.

The number of confessing Jews under Hungarian rule in 1942-43 may be estimated as follows: In pre-Munich Hungary, 444,000; in the annexed territories: Slovakian, 75,000; Carpatho-Ruthenia, 90,000; Northern Transylvania, 170,000; Northern Yugoslavia, 15,000. Deducting from this total of 794,000 an estimated natural decrease for twelve years of an annual average of 1,600, which amounts to 19,000, and an estimate of 35,000 conversions since 1930, a remaining total, in 1943, of 740,000 is reached.

However, anti-Jewish legislation considered as Jews all persons who had themselves, or whose one parent or two grandparents had at any time, belonged to the Jewish religious fold. This category brought about 60,000 or 70,000 additional people into the Jewish listing, so that the total number of victims of anti-Jewish legislation in Hungary was probably about 800,000.

Greater Budapest, with 232,212 Jews in 1930, had the second largest Jewish community in pre-war Europe. After the destruction of the Jewish community of Warsaw, Budapest took first place. While in 1930 it had contained more than half the Jewish population of Hungary, the addition of the annexed territories brought the proportion down to 23%. Other large Jewish communities were: Ujpest (near Budapest), 11,396, or 13% of the population of the city; Miskolc, 10,862 (19%); Munkacs (Carpatho-Ruthenia), 10,500 (60%); and Debrecen, 10,044 (13%).

Between 1937 and 1942 some 6,500 Jews from Hungary and the annexed territories came to the United States. Between 1938 and 1941, about 2,000 went to Palestine. No more than 2,000 reached other countries. The total number of Jews who left pre-Munich Hungary and the annexed territories during the period of Hitler influence was probably around 10,000.

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

The Reception Law (1895: XLII) declared the Jewish religion to be one of the "incorporated and recognized" denominations, enjoying full privileges of the other denominations so recognized, which were the Roman Catholic, Evangelical Reformed, Evangelical Protestant, Greek Orthodox Serbian and Greek Catholic Roman. It excluded encroachments of any kind on the part of any religious confession upon any other confession, provided for compulsory Jewish religious education in all public educational and welfare institutions as well as in the army, and for the proportionate participation of Jewish religious or educational institutions in public subsidies. Membership in the recognized religious community was compulsory.

Law 1895: XLIII, guaranteed full free exercise of religious practices and declared the exercise of civic and political rights to be independent of religious affiliations.

Jewish members of the armed forces were allowed to observe Jewish holidays, and Jewish pupils in the public schools could be excused from writing on the Sabbath. Until 1938, the right to observe ritual slaughter laws was never interfered with.

In February, 1869, the Jewish religious community of Hungary was granted the right to form its own organic statute and representative organization, to maintain public confessional educational institutions and to levy specific Jewish community taxes, in the collection of which the state tax collection service would cooperate. As early as 1855, Jewish religious and educational institutions had received annual state subsidies.

The Law 1926: XXII provided for the official representation of the Jewish religious community in the Upper House of the Hungarian Parliament by two rabbis elected by the Jewish community to be life-long members. In October, 1940, this representation was abolished by decree. In December, 1941, the Reception Law of 1895 was revoked, reducing Judaism to one of the "non-recognized" minor religious denominations. Freedom of worship was not affected, but communal life was handicapped by the withdrawal of state assistance in the collection of communal taxes, and of state subsidies to Jewish religious institutions. Membership in the community was evidently still compulsory.

The community organization of Hungarian Jews was divided into three officially recognized groups: the Congressional (neolog-progressive), the Orthodox, and the Satus Quo Ante center organizations. The Congressional organization, consisting largely of intelligensia and economically significant circles, led in importance. It was centered in Budapest, and had affiliated communities in most of the larger cities. The Orthodox organization was concentrated in the northeastern sector of the country, and derived its constituency from smaller conservative communities. The Status Quo organizations comprised only a few provincial communities. Each group had a so-called National Chancery, authorized to handle internal and official matters. Only the Congressional and Orthodox groups had obtained representation in the Upper House. In the 1930's the three groups, while remaining separate, cooperated in political matters, largely under the guidance of the Congressional faction.

Religious observance was widespread. The Jewish high holidays brought even the community of Budapest to a standstill; many baptized Jews observed them. Nazi oppression strengthened this religious steadfastness. Hassidism was of minor importance, being almost entirely confined to Carpatho-Ruthenia.

JEWISH COURT OF ARBITRATION

A Din Torah, or Jewish religious arbitration system, was restricted to rabbinical jurisdiction in matters of religious practice or to arbitration in civilian matters voluntarily submitted by the litigants. Decisions had no legal validity. The three National Chanceries representing the three leading factions within the Jewish religious community could sit in litigation between Jewish communities and religious functionaries. For this purpose, the Congressional and Status Quo Chanceries maintained elected district courts, whose decisions were appellable to and enforced by the Minister of Cults and Education.

COMMUNAL AND FRATERNAL GROUPS

Despite the fact that Theodore Herzl, the founder of political Zionism, and Max Nordau, one of its greatest proponents, were both born in Hungary, political Zionism did not make significant inroads among Hungarian Jews until the beginning of the Hitler era, when there was a noticeable increase in the acceptance of the Zionist idea.

Most important Jewish fraternal groups were the Hebra Kadisha, which not only provided religious burial ceremonies and cared for the graves of its members, but undertook the charitable support of the poor, members and non-members alike. In Budapest the society maintained two large cemeteries, a general hospital, a hospital for incurable diseases and a home for the aged. Lodges like the B'nai B'rith or the B'rith Abraham did not exist in Hungary. Several smaller self-help societies in Budapest were devoted largely to sick relief. Further relief work was carried on by special groups, including cultural societies, literary societies, an agricultural and handicraft society, various orphanages, hospitals and other institutions. The Jewish womens clubs had projects of their own.

COMMUNITY ASSETS; FUNCTIONARIES.

Although the Jewish community budgets in Hungary were based on compulsory taxation, freeing the communities from dependence on capital property, the Budapest Jewish community was one of the wealthiest in Europe, both in regard to the importance of its institutions and their real value. No confiscations of Jewish communal property seem to have resulted from the Hitler influence, except that, together with a number of non-Jewish medical institutions, the three Jewish hospitals in Budapest were commandeered by the army early in 1943 for use as military hospitals.

Neither rabbis nor lesser functionaries in the religious setup of Hungary could be regarded as having an active role in politics or any other field outside that of religious leadership.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

For legal purposes, both religious marriage and religious divorce were irrelevant, since only civil proceedings were valid in both cases. The Hungarian marriage law of 1874: XXXI, forbade the solemnization of a religious wedding without presentation of a civil marriage certificate. There was no legal impediment against intermarriage.

In December, 1941, an anti-Semitic marriage law was passed, forbidding mixed marriages as well as extra-marital relations between Jewish men and "decent" non-Jewish women. As the news of the proposed bill became known, the number of conversions of Christian women to Jewish faith increased conspicuously; official figures show that 546 conversions of this kind occurred in 1942 when mixed marriage was barred. Prosecution for extra-marital relationships between Jewish men and "decent" non-Jewish women frequently led to a classification of all but publicly registered prostitutes as "decent", and the subsequent punishment of the man.

FUNERALS

The Reception Law (1895: XLII) provided that members of any religious community could be buried without hindrance in any burial ground. In practice, however, separate burial grounds had always been assigned to the Christian and Jewish communities; cemeteries for Jews were put at the disposal of the Jewish communities by the local municipalities. In this situation and in Jewish religious funeral practices no change is known to have occurred after the establishment of Hitler's influence over Hungary. Several Jewish cemeteries, however, were damaged by vandalism.

FAMILY LIFE

Paternal authority among the Jews of Hungary was generally the same as is found in average middle-class society. In ultra-Orthodox groups, the father was more assertive, sometimes even to the extent of choosing mates for the children.

Similarly, the position of the wife was substantially the same as in other middle-class groups, except that in some ultra-conservative circles, her prestige depended on whether she had succeeded in bearing a son or not. Jewish parents, as a whole, were considered more attached to their children than non-Jewish Hungarian parents, and there was closer economic solidarity among the members of a family, and a greater degree of readiness for mutual aid.

LANGUAGES

Almost every Jew in Hungary speaks Hungarian well. In the annexed territories, where the younger generation had been educated in Ruthenian or Slovak, there was some deficiency in Hungarian. Long association with Austria made German the most widely used second language among Hungarian Jews, between 80 and 85% of whom mastered some degree of German. In Carpatho-Ruthenia, in the Eastern section of the Slovakian territory, and in Northern Transylvania, the mother tongue of the great majority of the Jewish population was Yiddish. Elsewhere in Hungary, Yiddish had become almost unknown. English was a favorite third language of the intelligentsia, Jewish and non-Jewish alike. Jews, however, commanded more languages than other citizens. With the advent of Hitlerism, the study of English among Hungarian Jews became even more widespread. Although the Jews always spoke some degree of the language of the particular section of Hungary in which they lived, language conflicts did not arise until after the frontier disputes which followed the First World War and the Munich Pact.

CRIMINALITY; ALCOHOLISM

The degree of probity found among the Jews was very high. Although, under the economic pressure of Nazi influence, the involvement of Jews in the so-called "intellectual delicts", like fraud or forgery (notably of documents of citizenship) increased, their share in violent crimes remained practically nil. Propaganda statistics published by the authorities were doctored to include the charges made against Jewish writers and journalists for resisting reactionary forces, and against other Jews for violating currency restrictions, which violation offered almost the only expedient for the purchase of foreign raw material.

Jewish restraint in the use of alcoholic beverages was proverbial in Hungary. Tobacco was widely used, but there was no data on the use of narcotics.

ATTITUDE TOWARD WAR AND THE UNITED STATES

The attitude of Hungarian Jews toward the present war can hardly be questioned, since for them the victory of Hitler would mean death and the victory of the allies salvation. That the victory of Hitler would also be tantamount to the end of Hungary is no small factor in their ardent allegiance to the allied cause. The United States is to them a great power viewing European matters unselfishly and fated to save democracy and civilization for a better world. The number of Jews convicted for spreading news favorable to the Allied cause, for anti-German agitation and for sabotage is proof of the deep alignment Hungarian Jews have for the democratic victory.

CITIZENSHIP

Before the submission to Hitlerian pressure, the citizenship status of Jews was determined by Law 1867: XVII, which confirmed the equality of the "Jewish inhabitants" of Hungary in the exercise and enjoyment "of the same civil and political rights as the Christian population." The Jew Laws of 1938 and 1939, although curtailing drastically some of the civic and political rights of the Jews, did not reduce them to the level of mere subjects. All regulations applied also to the residents of the annexed territories.

Although the acquisition of citizenship through naturalization, marriage or adoption was forbidden by the law of 1939, it was not retroactive. More serious was the power of denaturalization granted for any Jew and his dependents "whose circumstances do not necessitate their stay in the country," for this was a matter allowing much interpretative license. In practice, however, little use had been made of this weapon.

Statelessness, before the discriminatory laws went into effect, had little application. Some Jews, opting for Hungarian citizenship after the frontier realignments that followed the First World War, failed to obtain official papers. Under Goemboes, Jews were required to produce citizens' certificates for any administrative procedure. This was made difficult not only because of frequent failure to follow through opted citizenship, but because official matriculation had been introduced only in 1895. Between 40% and 50% of the Jews in Hungary were therefore unable to authenticate their citizenship. In the summer of 1941, a combination of Nazi dissatisfactions resulted in the rounding up of the 18,000 Jews mentioned above chosen from among those who could not "authenticate" their citizenship, and their deportation to Galicia, for almost complete extermination.

MINORITY RIGHTS

The Jews had persistently refused to avail themselves of the minority rights clauses in the Peace Treaty of Trianon, on the ground that their long history of equality in Hungary demanded that infractions be remedied on the basis of equality and not of minority rights. The special treatments outlined in the Jew Laws have not brought minority rights, but minority disabilities.

Since minority rights had never existed, political gerrymandering was indirect. The system of the open ballot in the provinces made franchise a farce. In addition, provincial districts were so delimited as to make a constituency of a few hundred people, while in the cities -- where secret balloting was practiced -- 10,000 to 20,000 voters were necessary for the election of a representative to parliament. This served to diminish the value of votes cast by Jews and other liberal groups, who were congregated largely in cities. By the specification that active and passive franchise could be exercised only by those Jews whose parents and grandparents had been born in Hungary, the Second Jew Law cut down the number of enfranchised Jews in Budapest from 288,000 to 100,000.

GOVERNMENT AGENCIES FOR JEWISH AFFAIRS

Since Jews were not a minority, but a religious community, their affairs were handled -- until the promulgation of the Jew Laws -- by the Ministry of Cults and Education, an arrangement which continued into 1943. Anti-Jewish legislation and

its execution were put into the hands of a Government Commissar of the Intellectual Professions, directly responsible to the Minister of the Interior. Penalties for infringement were administered by ordinary police and court procedure, with the assistance of the Government Commissar.

POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS

Before the Hitler influence became acute, Jews participated widely in the activities of the National Liberal Party (Nemzeti Liberalis Part), which was founded in 1920 and headed by Representative Charles Rassay, and in the National Democratic Party (Nemzeti Demokrata Part) which was founded by William Vaszonyi, a Jew who was Minister of Justice. After Vaszonyi's death the two groups united, under Rassay's leadership, in the National Liberal Party, which had the support of the Jewish middle-class and intelligentsia. The largest number of representatives this party ever had in parliament was 17, among whom were five Jews. In 1943, it had five representatives, including one Jew, Ernest Brody. The Social Democratic party (Szocial Demokrata Part) had the support of Jewish workers and Jewish socialistic intellectuals; in 1943 it had five representatives in parliament. During the conservative-liberal Bethlen government (1923-30) the Jewish upper middle-class and industrialists supported the government party; representative Geza Desi, a Jew, was considered Count Bethlen's liaison officer with the Jewish population. No specific Jewish political parties ever existed.

UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT

The existence of a quasi-parliamentarian system, even under Nazi influence, did not favor the development of underground political activities to the same extent as in other Eastern European countries. However, the large number of political trials, the sentencing of many common people -- including an exceptionally high proportion of Jews -- for political offenses, and the frequency of unsolved sabotage incidents seems to indicate the presence of an underground combination of the democratic and patriotic anti-Nazi political groups. There can be no doubt that Jewish support is resolutely behind this tendency. In 1943, the strength of the communist underground seemed to be limited, although during 1942 a few communist groups had been apprehended by the regime. Under the pressure of rapidly deteriorating social conditions, the communist movement might expand considerably.

JEW IN PARLIAMENT

During the Horthy regime, the average number of Jews in the House of Representatives varied between 10 and 12, including 5 or 6 liberals and democrats, the rest Social Democrats and one government party (Bethlen group) representative. The most outstanding parliamentarians of the period who were Jews were William Vaszonyi, previously Minister of Justice and secret court councillor, and founder and head of the National Democratic Party, and Representative Paul Sandor. Two Jews were appointed members of the Upper House, and two rabbis were elected by the Jewish religious confessions. The Jew Laws annulled the appointments of the two appointed members to the Upper House, but not the rabbinical representation. This was later abolished by a decree lacking legal foundation.

Jews in Public Service

During the liberal era which came to an end with the First World War, the participation of Jews in public service was not numerically large, but it included representation in almost every field. Several ministers of finance and of commerce were Jews or former Jews. Jews also held the posts of minister of justice and under-secretary of justice; there were several Jewish generals, one of whom -- during the First World War -- was minister for the Hungarian army under the Minister of War; there were at various times at least four Jews in the Supreme Court, one who was assistant attorney general, and numerous judges in both the higher and lower courts. A number were university professors (the universities were state institutions). Both a Jew and a former Jew were chairmen of the State Railways, a Jew was head of the State Statistical Office and another of the Patent Court. In Budapest a Jew held the post of Lord Mayor and another vice-mayor. In the lower brackets, the number of Jews was not great, partly because of the absence of a marked trend among Jews for public employment, and partly because the gentry of officialdom were not hospitable to Jews. Under the Horthy regime, many of the Jews serving as officials were weeded out, so that by the beginning of the Hitler era, only a few dozen remained in inconspicuous jobs.

In the county governments, a part of the council was chosen without election, on the basis of high tax payments. Thus, although provincial counties rarely elected Jews to their councils, a number of wealthy Jews nevertheless found places on them.

In Budapest, before the Horthy regime, about 1/3 of the city council consisted of Jews. There were several Jews who served as city commissioners. Under the Horthy regime, the number of Jews serving as municipal council members considerably declined, but prior to the execution of the Second Jew Law, there were still some 25 Jews or former Jews on the Budapest municipal council. The Second Jew Law provided that Jews could not be members of municipal councils unless elected. Although the principle allowing high taxpayers to serve on the councils remained, Jews could no longer be so appointed. A large number of elected municipal council members were deprived of their seats because they could not prove that they themselves, their parents or grandparents had lived on Hungarian territory consecutively since December 31, 1867.

Only Jews exempt from the specifications of the Second Jew Law remained in public service in 1943. These included war veterans with at least one decoration, war invalids more than 50% incapacitated, war widows and orphans, those who risked their lives in the anti-Communist struggles of 1919, secret councillors, university professors, ministers of a Christian religion and Olympic champions. In 1943 no Jew held any significant position in public service.

THE JUDICIARY

Jews had held prominent judicial posts during the liberal era, but had been almost eliminated under the Horthy regime. The last Jew to hold a high judiciary post was Dr. Charles Foedy, until 1938 a member of the Administrative Supreme Court and head of the religious tribunal of the Congressional National Chancery. Discrimination against the Jews by the judiciary could be effected only through loopholes. A series of laws dealing with matters like the "defamation of the nation" and offenses against the "order of the State and of Society" permitted the judiciary to deal harshly with Jewish political offenders, although the measures were not directed specifically against Jews.

THE BAR

Hungarian Lawyers' Chambers were not conspicuously anti-Semitic before the Hitler era. The Budapest Chamber had been fairly liberal; its chairman for many years, Dr. Joseph Pap, opposed anti-Semitic tendencies within the Chamber and also in the Upper House, of which he was a member. During the Horthy regime, however, the younger generation of lawyers turned to a more flagrant anti-Jewish attitude, under the influence of the unofficial National Lawyers' League. A Numerus Clausus law for lawyers, restricting admission to professional chambers and therefore to professional practice, was enacted in 1934 or 1935. But this was not openly directed against Jewish lawyers; its avowed purpose was to limit the admission of all lawyers, and thus to prevent further professional overcrowding. The result, however, was unquestionably a reduction in the number of new Jewish lawyers.

Under the Jew Laws, the legal status of Jews who had been members of the Lawyers' Chambers before the enactment of the laws was not changed. Article 9 of the Second Jew Law stipulated that no additional Jews may become members of the Lawyers' Chambers until the percentage of Jews in the membership roster has fallen below 6% of the total. So numerous were Jews in the legal profession that it would take many years for this percentage to be reached by natural processes. In October, 1941, the National Lawyers' League demanded that Jewish and Masonic office-holders be barred from the Chambers; the demand was rejected by a majority of the Chambers. In April, 1942, they proposed that non-Jewish lawyers should wear special badges in court to identify themselves before the judge as racial and ideological comrades. This proposal was rejected by both the Chambers and the government. By a decree of September 13, 1941, Jews who were pensioned judges and state attorneys were ordered admitted to the Lawyers' Chambers. No special lawyers were appointed to plead for Jews, as was done in other countries under Nazi control.

The position of public notary was much coveted, very lucrative and socially distinguished; it was in effect a monopoly given by the governments to a limited number of "distinguished partisans." Even in the liberal era, few Jews were notaries; during the Horthy regime, none was appointed.

AGE STRUCTURE

The census figures of 1930 already showed that a process of decline in the young age group was well under way among Hungarian Jews; Jewish children under six years of age represented only 2.9% of all Hungarian children of that age group. In 1938 the percentage was only 2.4%, instead of 5.1, in accordance with the proportion of Jews in the total population. Without doubt, there was even more of a drop after 1938.

OCCUPATIONAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE: BEFORE JEW LAWS

In 1920, Jews represented 5.4% of the gainfully employed population of Hungary; in 1930, 5.1%. In 1930, their principal categories of occupation, and the percentages they held in each category, were as follows: trade and credit (incl. banking and insurance), 40.0%; pensionists, rentiers and house-owners, 9.1%; public service and independent (liberal) occupations, 8.9%; industry, 8.3%; other occupations, 5.7%; transportation, 3.7%; day labor 1.4%; domestic service, 1.0%; mining, 0.8%; agriculture, 0.3%.

In a prevalently agrarian country, the Jews were almost completely absent from agricultural occupations, ... and were active in commercial and financial life. Between 1920 and 1930, however, economic anti-Semitism lowered the percentage of Jews engaged in trade and credit from 45.1 to 40.0. During that period, Jewish participation in "other occupations" rose from 5.1 to 5.7% and in day labor by 0.1%. Both increases showed the obstacles which Jews were finding to participation in commerce and other traditional Jewish means of livelihood. Their disproportionate involvement in the commerce, trade, and professions of Hungary had been abetted by 1) their exclusion--following emancipation--from landownership, agricultural labor, public and military service; 2) their adaptability to economic and intellectual enterprise; and 3) the lack of initiative among Hungarian non-Jews for economic functions. The last-named fact was attested to as late as December 24, 1942, by the Völkischer Beobachter (Berlin), which described the difficulties of finding "Aryan" successors for the economic life of Hungary, and stated: "In spite of all efforts of responsible factors, [Hungarian] youth still does not want even to hear of commercial or industrial pursuits."

Within the various occupations, Jewish participation was as follows (1930):

In trade and credit: independent, 45.6%; office employees and salesmen, 47.6%; physical workers, 29.1%.

In industry: independent, 11.0%; office employees, engineers, etc., 33.4%; physical workers, 5.6%.

In the independent (liberal) occupations: independent (lawyers, physicians, engineers), 34.2%; office employees, 7.4%; physical workers (office boys, etc.), 3.1%.

The participation of Jews in independent undertakings and white-collar work was obviously far greater than their percentage in the general population, but in trade and credit and in physical labor they were also represented in larger proportion. In 1930, the Jewish and Christian populations were divided in the three main social categories as follows:

	Jews		Christians	
Middle Class	91,840	43.1%	1,670,000	44.1%
Intellectual	53,478	25.1%	199,475	5.3%
Labor	67,917	31.8%	1,916,187	50.6%

Of 21,138 houses owned by physical persons in Budapest in 1930, 72.6% were owned by Christians, 26% by Jews (the percentage of Jews in the total population of the capital was 20.3) and the ownership of 301 houses remained unknown. It was highly probable that the percentage of Jewish ownership in the more valuable categories of real estate was higher than 26. Of a total of 16,173,178 cadastral acres of land and property, 790,173 acres, or 4.9%, were said to have been owned by Jews. These were mostly large holdings in the hands of wealthy families.

Although the above facts seem to indicate a strong middle-class position for a large part of the Jewish population, they reflected the situation only in small pre-Munich Hungary. In the annexed territories, the Jews were less favorably placed. Moreover, even in pre-Munich Hungary, the situation of the white-collar workers, of whom the Jews constituted a large portion, was hardly better than that of labor.

Many of the Jewish independent businessmen were small retailers even more precariously placed than laborers. As early as 1935, 100 Jewish breadwinners had to provide for 79 dependents; among the non-Jews the number was 73. In 1930, Jews already comprised only 18.3% of the total earning population of Budapest, while their percentage in the population was 20.3. At the end of 1934, access to gainful occupations began to be reserved -- through government pressure -- for Gentile applicants among the youth. The adoption of the First Jew Law in 1938 started the wholesale demolition of the rights and positions still held by the Jewish population.

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE: AFTER JEW LAWS

In June, 1940, the Jewish community of Budapest published a preliminary estimate of the social devastation inflicted upon the Jews of pre-Munich Hungary by the Second Jew Law (Law 1939:IV), whose measures were largely to be carried out before December 31, 1942. According to this estimate, and including dependents, 73,487 white-collar employees, 30,268 salesmen and other commercial representatives, 2,741 professionals, 13,500 possessing special monopoly licenses, and 20,400 possessors of trade licenses were earmarked for statutory elimination from social life. The total, 140,396, represents 31.5% of the Jewish population of pre-Munich Hungary. Together with those deprived of livelihoods before the Jew Laws, the total may be put at between 45 and 50%, which would leave some 400,000 Jews in Hungary without subsistence in 1943. It must not be forgotten also that the welfare of the other 50% of the Jewish population was in a sense interdependent on the ousted half, and also that an artificially-promoted anti-Jewish boycott must have had some bearing on the situation of the Jews.

Compared with the radical anti-Jewish measures adopted in other Eastern European countries under Nazi pressure, the Hungarian system bears certain distinguishing features. It did not affect property owned by Jews, except rural landed property expropriated by a law of July, 1942, and paid for in blocked, non-negotiable government bonds at 3½%. By January, 1943, some 500,000 acres had been expropriated, affecting a relatively small group of landowners. Certain occupational categories were permitted limited continuation, including the professions, independently owned commercial and industrial enterprises. In private employment, 12% might remain Jewish. This 12% stipulation applied, however, not only to the number of employees but to the amount of the payroll. This frequently provoked the voluntary resignation of a high salaried Jewish manager in favor of a number of small salaried Jewish minor employees. The selection by the Jewish owners of business enterprises of non-Jewish license holders to represent them was evidently tacitly countenanced. Mob excesses and extra-legal interpretations of the Jew Law were not tolerated.

BANKING

Modern banking in Hungary was developed almost exclusively by Jews. The only exceptions were the hypothecary credit banks which were brought under state control by the grant of state subventions. The largest hypothecary credit bank was a typically non-Jewish establishment, but the four leading commercial and industrial banks were considered "Jewish banks." A "Jewish" bank was not necessarily one entirely owned by Jews. Stock ownership was scattered, and the Jewish management was in partnership with a number of aristocrats and non-Jewish capitalists. The largest commercial bank in Hungary is the Hungarian General Bank of Credit, formerly a branch of the Österreichische Credit Anstalt of Vienna, the Austrian branch of the Roth-

child banking firm. In addition, the Baron Kornfeld and the Baron Ullmann families had been important in its development. The second largest commercial bank in Hungary was the Hungarian Commercial Bank of Pest, until recently headed by Philip Weiss and a group of managers who were or who had been Jews. The third of the leading group was the British-Hungarian Bank, Ltd., operating partly with British capital, and under the management of Jews.

With the inception of the Jew Laws, many of the bankers were forced to abandon their active role in the management of their institutions, and to transfer their functions to non-Jews they had themselves selected. Stock ownership was not affected, except in the Hungarian General Bank of Credit, the majority syndicate of which is reported to have been acquired by German banking interests. Only 12% of the personnel of the banks was allowed to be Jewish under the Jew Laws.

In general, Jews retained the right to free disposition of their bank deposits in Hungary. Deposits owned by persons who resided abroad for more than six months without government permit were sequestered; a measure obviously aimed at Jewish emigrés, without actually specifying them. No information was available about the confiscation of such funds.

INSURANCE

There was no change regarding the acquired rights of Jews who held insurance policies. Within the insurance business itself, the provisions of the Second Jew Law regarding percentages of employment were rigidly enforced. In 1943, no Jew held any leading position in any insurance company, and only 12% of the office staffs were Jews. This in spite of the fact that most of the important Hungarian insurance companies had been founded and managed by Jews.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Most of the important natural resources of Hungary are corporate property, but Jews were active in their development. The major mining enterprise is the Hungary General Coal Mine Co., Ltd., which belonged to the Hungarian General Bank of Credit, formerly managed by Jews. Its president, Eugene Vida, who was a Jew, was forced to resign in 1942. Since Germany took over control of the bank, the mining enterprise was also probably transferred to German supervision. Rimamurany-Salgotarjan Ltd. is the largest coal-iron-steel combine, controlled by the Hungarian Commercial Bank of Pest. Dr. Franz Chorin, who headed the management of the concern, was a vice-chairman of the bank. The Baron Weiss family held a large interest in the combine, which controlled Hungary's bauxite deposits, the largest in Europe. As far as could be ascertained, Dr. Chorin was still conducting the affairs of the concern in 1943, actually if not formally. According to recent news, some of the important natural resources, among them the bauxite mines and aluminum works, were "purchased" by Germany.

AGRICULTURE

In 1939, Jews constituted only 0.3% of Hungary's agricultural population, and owned 4.9% of the landed property, or 790,173 cadastral acres out of a total of 16,173,178. Land owned by Jews consisted mostly of middle-size estates (between

500 and 1,000 acres) and large estates (between 1,000 and 20,000 acres). A substantial part of this land was utilized in beet, potato, flax and hemp production, providing opportunities for corresponding agricultural industries. During the parliamentary debate over the Second Jew Law, even Nazi deputies admitted that the average Jewish-owned estate was better managed than other property, and that the economic position of the farm laborers employed by Jews was higher than average.

The Second Jew Law (#16) provided that Jewish landowners "may be obliged to make over all their landed property, for the purpose of property transfer or small tenancy." It also gave the state the sole right to purchase such land. Until 1942, this power was not used. Then a new law was promulgated ordering the expropriation of all landed property owned by Jews against the issuance of government bonds paying no capital, only an annual interest of 3%. In December, 1942, it was officially reported that some 550,000 cadastral acres had already been taken over by the government. Only members of the "Heroes Order", a militaristic political creation of Regent Horthy, were scheduled to obtain land from this pool; the genuinely landless peasantry was evidently ignored. Late in June, 1943, Premier Kallay reported that by the end of the year, all landed property owned by Jews would not only have been taken over, but distributed.

There were no Jewish agricultural cooperatives in Hungary.

INDUSTRY

Definite discrimination against Jews in industry by the government or by municipalities occurred only during the first period of the Horthy regime, ending in about 1924. It was manifest in the field of public supplies and bids. Later, and especially under the Bethlen government, the need for industrial development curtailed anti-Jewish discrimination in this field. Government-controlled cartels and monopolies were not directly discriminatory, excluding all private competition. Public monopolies, including alcohol, tobacco and salt, had been established in the 1880's, and Jewish business enterprise had long since adjusted itself to this limitation. Moreover, the licensing of a number of Jews as retailers in the monopoly fields provided some business opportunity.

The share Jews had in the development of industrial property was very high. In 1935, out of a total of 3,207 factories, 1,507, or 47%, were "owned or managed by Jews," according to statistics published in support of the First Jew Law. These figures may have been doctored; since most of these factories were corporately owned, the actual Jewish share in ownership was probably lower. Even when the majority of the stockholders were non-Jews, the managers were often Jews, and the firms were therefore classified as "Jewish." By 1943 most of the Jews in management had been ousted; only 12% of the office personnel was Jewish, instead of 33.4%, as in 1930. On the other hand, property rights of factory owners and shareholders who were Jews were not affected. Some of the major industries, however, were reported to have been taken over by German syndicates.

COMMERCE

In 1930, 45.6% of the total number of independent merchants in Hungary were Jews, and 47.6% of the commercial employees. Of 153 wholesale distributing houses, 120 were owned by Jews. In Budapest the proportion of participation may have been higher.

German anti-Semitism came to the aid of domestic anti-Semitic tendencies in 1936, after the Goemboes government had already coerced Jewish owners of firms into padding their payrolls with Christian employees. Early in 1936, the German Reichsstelle informed the Hungarian government that they would not further permit Hungarian Jewish cattle merchants to supply military horses. Horse export was promptly centralized in the agrarian cooperatives. Other German prohibitions provoked further withdrawals of export trade from Jews. This policy would have had disastrous results even before the introduction of the Jew Laws in 1938 and 1939, had the Hungarian government not tried, at the same time, to bolster the commercial connections held by Jews with French, British and American trade.

The Second Jew Law imposed a series of restrictions on the participation of Jews in domestic commerce, forbidding the issuance of new trade licenses to Jews until their proportion of held licenses had dropped to below 6% of the total. In practice, the rule was extended also to expired licenses still held by Jews, the renewal of which had always been a mere formality. Jews could not participate in deliveries to the state or to the municipalities beyond the following percentages of the value of supplies: 1939-40, 20%; 1941-42, 10%; beginning with 1943, 6%. Exceptions could be made when no bids were offered by non-Jews, or when such bids were obviously disadvantageous. All licenses in monopoly trades were withdrawn from Jewish license-holders.

Exclusion of Jews from the trade-license system affected foreign commerce as well. The absorption of some 80% of Hungary's foreign trade by Germany and Italy added to the fatal effect. According to the Völkischer Beobachter of December 24, 1942, Jews had been entirely eliminated from the animal fodder, tallow and grease, wine, paprika, onion and garlic, and textile waste export lines; and almost entirely eliminated from the export of eggs and live animals. The Nazi paper complained of the continued predominance of Jews in the textile and firewood business.

"ARYANIZATION".

No corporation for "Aryanization" existed in Hungary. Execution of anti-Jewish legislation was entrusted to the Government Commissar for Intellectual Occupations.

EMPLOYMENT AND WAGES.

According to Dr. Aloysius Kovacs, former president of the Central Office for Statistics of the Hungarian government, 31.8% of all Jews gainfully employed, or 67,917 persons, were physical laborers in 1930. They worked largely in commerce, serving as movers, packers, delivery men, etc; here their proportion reached 29.1% of all physical workers. In industry, they comprised 5.6% of labor. Data for the annexed territories were not available.

The Jew Laws did not generally affect Jews employed as physical laborers, because they were directed at the position of Jews in "economic and intellectual life." Nevertheless, several grotesque interpretations are recorded. Waiters and restaurant workers, for example, were classified as "intellectual workers," to

subject them to the 12% limit. The war proved advantageous to Jewish workers, because a shortage in manpower forced the employment of more Jews. Some Jewish students, intellectuals, white-collar employees and merchants had turned to factory jobs after the enactment of the Jew Laws. Their probably limited number is not known; it is likely that they were safe from compulsory labor service. In 1941, a total of \$63,000 was spent by Jewish welfare organizations in Hungary on industrial and agricultural retraining of several thousand young Jews, mostly students and white-collar workers. Figures for 1942 are not available. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee aided in the organization and support of this service.

The average annual wage of the Hungarian industrial worker was pengo 1,330 in 1926 and pengo 1,137 in 1936, or a drop of almost 15% in 10 years. At the official exchange rate, the two figures are \$266 and \$227 respectively, but in buying power they might be estimated at \$530 and \$455. A drop in the cost of living from 117.4 in 1937 to 89 in 1934 accompanied the drop in income. These conditions held true for Jewish workers, as well as for others, except that the number of Jewish workers who succeeded in advancing themselves to higher wage ratings was somewhat higher than average. The equality of treatment for Jewish and non-Jewish workers was due partly to the share of Jews in industrial ownership and partly to the egalitarian attitude of the predominant Socialist trade unions.

Working hours were long. In 1936, only 40.6% of the industrial workers had achieved a six-day week of eight hours (and this for the summer months only); 16.7% worked $8\frac{1}{2}$ to 9 hours; 22%, $9\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 hours; 5%, $10\frac{1}{2}$ to 11 hours and 6.5% more than 12 hours a day, six days per week. Of the total number of workers, only 9.2% worked fewer than 7 hours a day. No information is available regarding discrimination against Jewish workers in wages and hours, after the outbreak of war. Labor was concentrated around Budapest.

TRADE UNIONS.

The largest portion of Hungary's industrial workers belonged to the Socialist trade unions, which were economic projections of the Social Democratic Party, and followed liberal and egalitarian party policies. Although the proportion of Jewish workers only slightly exceeded the proportion of Jews in the general population, their superior education brought them more frequently to directive posts in both party and unions. Before and during the First World War, the Christian (Catholic) labor unions marshaled only an insignificant segment of Hungarian labor, drawn from the lower strata of unskilled workers, but aided by a number of independent craftsmen, for whom the industrialization in which Jews played so large a part boded danger. Horthy cooperated with the Christian labor movement, allowing certain categories of state employees to become members. Socialist trade unionism, however, remained staunch, and the Hungarian leaders of the movement notably remained free of leanings to the extreme left or right. This firmness, with its resistance to anti-Semitic agitation, maintained the labor unions of Hungary as a surviving factor for reconstruction.

COOPERATIVES.

The labor cooperative movement, which had been of long duration in Hungary, and frequently under the management of experts who were Jews, was forced to liquidate under the pressure of the inimical Horthy regime in 1926. One savings bank for Socialist laborers remained in Hungary, and its treatment of Jews was faultlessly egalitarian. No Jewish labor cooperatives or labor banks existed, but there were a few small cooperative sick benefit and obsequial groups.

GENERAL PRESS.

At the end of the First World War, seven Budapest dailies were owned by Jews, and two by non-Jews. The entire press of Budapest had until then been liberal, with the exception of Alkotmany, the mouthpiece of the Catholic political and Christian Socialist movement. With the inception of the reactionary era in 1919, anti-Semitic papers began to emerge. Yet at the time of the promulgation of the Jew Laws, the following Budapest dailies were under Jewish ownership: Pesti Naplo, Az Est and Magyarország, which three formed the Est concern (Liberal); Az Ujsag (Liberal); and Pesti Hirlap (Conservative-Liberal). Pester Lloyd, a German daily morning and evening paper, was the property of the Lloyd Society, a club made up largely of Jewish industrialists.

The Second Jew Law provided that Jews could not be editors, or publishers of any publication, or determine policies, but it did not affect property rights. However, indirect methods of change were applied: Pester Lloyd was tacitly transformed into a government mouthpiece; the three dailies published by the Est concern were seized under the pretext of tax debts. Only Ujsag and Pesti Hirlap were in 1943 still owned by Jews or baptized Jews. In February, 1943, Dr. Andrew Zsilinsky, leader of the Democratic Wing of the Independent Labor Party, became editor of Ujsag. Since they could not be admitted to the Journalists' Chamber, created after the enactment of the First Jew Law, almost all Jews who were journalists were unemployed in 1943. A few indispensable editors of Pester Lloyd were allowed to remain at work.

JEWISH PRESS.

Before the era of Hitler influence, four Jewish religious or communal weeklies and one illustrated monthly appeared in Hungary.

Of these only Magyar Zsidok Lapja, a religious weekly, was tolerated in 1943.

MOTION PICTURES.

The Hungarian film industry, the oldest and best developed in Eastern Europe, owed its existence to a great extent to the initiative of Jews. During the silent film era, Alexander Korda (today Sir Alexander Korda) and Michael Kertesz (today Michael Curtiz of Hollywood) founded the Corvin Film Company, which later became

the Hunnia Film Company. After 1934, it produced between 40 and 50 full length sound films a year. The following motion picture companies were also founded by Jews: Muveszfilm (Horowitz), Harmonia (Pless), Kinofilm (Farago) and Hirsch and Tsuk. In Budapest as well as the provinces, the network of motion picture theatres was founded and owned largely by Jews: Hirsch and Tsuk, Corvin Film, Winter, Ungerleider, Upor, Guttman, Lederer, etc. In 1920-21, the Horthy regime cancelled the licenses of all motion picture theatre owners who were Jews, but since most of the non-Jewish successors lacked capital and experience, the Jews were invited to stay on as partners. Producers, directors and writers were also most frequently Jewish. The position of the Jews in the Hungarian film industry remained undisturbed until the enactment of the Second Jew Law.

Paragraph 11 of the Second Jew Law provided that only members of the Chamber of Theatrical and Motion Picture Arts may be film producers or directors. This Chamber was created solely for the exclusion of Jews. In practice, not only these leading posts, but every job and function connected with motion pictures was barred to Jews. Film production was concentrated in the Hunnia and Hungarian Film Bureau firms, both lucrative sub-agencies of the Hungarian Telegraph Bureau and a source of income for grafters like Frederic Wuenscher, Szabados, and others. All theatre licenses were in the hands of non-Jews, who usually paid rent to the Jewish owners of the buildings. Yet Jews evidently had to be called into service because of their experience and ability. In 1942, thirteen Jews who were film directors, script writers, idea men and cameramen had been "accused" by the Nazi press of having secretly written, directed and photographed films under the names of non-Jewish "film experts." All were put into concentration camps, but the "Aryanized" film companies and the "dummies" were not touched.

SOCIAL INSURANCE.

Jewish industrial workers benefited from compulsory membership in the National Office for Social Insurance. Other employees belonged to the Insurance Institute for Private Employees; where they were not discharged as the result of the Jew Laws, they continued to derive these benefits. A certain degree of unofficial bias existed in the attitude of some physicians and officials connected with these institutions. There was no special system of social insurance for Jews.

HEALTH, HYGIENE, HOUSING.

Vaccination against smallpox before the age of six was compulsory for all residents of Hungary. Jews serving in forced labor battalions were vaccinated against typhoid, typhus fever and cholera, just as were soldiers. No restrictions or discriminations were imposed on the accessibility of vaccines, serums and other medical supplies for Jews.

There were no major epidemics in Hungary or among the Jews of Hungary during the 1930-40 decade. Nor did any special endemic diseases exist among the Jewish population, whose health average was somewhat higher than among the rest of the people. A greater inclination to diabetes, gastric ulcer and gastritis was found among the Jews, but these are common to Jews in all countries, and are usually

attributed to the inherited effect of the specific circumstances under which Jews have lived for several centuries.

In the sections inhabited by the poorer stratum of Budapest Jews, old structures with obsolete sanitary equipment constituted the only approach to special sanitation problems, but these were no worse than sanitation and housing problems created in any old city district inhabited by poor people. In provincial towns, the sanitation and housing problems faced by the Jewish populations were primitive, but no different from those of the rest of the population. In Carpatho-Ruthenian towns and villages sanitary conditions were very poor for the Jews, and even worse for the rest of the people.

All food consumed by Jews was subject to the same control and inspection as other food. To this control was added the special dietary regulations of the Jews, such as ritual slaughter, which was prohibited in 1938, but which continued to be performed surreptitiously.

A special aid to sanitation among the Jews was the maintenance of ritual baths (mikvoth) by many of the communities.

MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS.

In pre-Munich Hungary, in 1930, 34.4% of all physicians and dentists were Jews, a decline from 46.3% in 1920. Estimates for 1939 were that in Greater Hungary there were then some 6,000 Jews out of a total of 14,000 physicians and dentists. In 1930, 24% of the veterinarians were Jews, but no concrete figures are available. Nor are there data for nurses. Both physicians and dentists had to have an M.D. degree.

Those Jews who were already members of the professional chambers were allowed to continue in practice by the Jew Law, therefore a decrease in their number could be brought about only through death or voluntary retirement. New candidates were not admitted. The estimated number of Jews practicing as physicians or dentists in Hungary in 1943 was at least 5,500.

HOSPITALS.

There was no outright Jewish health service in Hungary, but there were a number of separate health institutions maintained chiefly by the Budapest Jewish community. There were four modern, well-equipped Jewish hospitals in Budapest: the Hospital of the Jewish Community, with 700 beds, the Charity Hospital of the Budapest Hebra-Kadisha (Burial Society), with 150 beds, the Orthodox Hospital (150) and the Jewish Hospital in Buda (30). There was a small Jewish hospital in Szatmar, and one in Munkacs (Carpatho-Ruthenia). The Hospital of the Jewish Community of Budapest was one of the best in the country, and was used by many upper-class non-Jews. During the war all Jewish hospitals were taken over by the army, and civilian patients were no longer admitted, although the equipment remained the property of the sponsoring groups. Jewish hospital needs were greater than the facilities, and Jews had always been admitted on an equal basis into public

hospitals, where the Jewish community had provided ritual food to those Jewish patients who wanted it. This equality of treatment is presumed to have continued even into 1943. Industrial workers who were Jews received equal treatment in social insurance and affiliated hospitalization services.

BIRTH AND MORTALITY RATES.

The total number of live births in Hungary in 1921 was 255,453; in 1930, it was only 219,748, or a drop of 14%. In 1921, there were 7,776 live births among the Jews; in 1930, only 5,533, or a drop of 28.8%, more than double that of the general population. By 1935, the number of live births among Jews decreased to 4,720, and by 1938, the rate of reproduction was less than 10 per 1,000 souls, a rate at which the stock can no longer be maintained. Jewish births then represented only 2.2% of the total number of births, as compared with the 5.1% share of Jews in the population. After 1938, though no statistics are available, it may safely be estimated that in the Jewish population of enlarged Hungary, which numbered some 740,000, there could not have been more than 3,000 or 4,000 births annually, or a rate of 4 to 5 births per 1,000.

During the fifteen years between 1921 and 1936, the number of deaths among Jews decreased slightly, from 6,780 to 6,196. After 1927, the number of live births never equalled the number of deaths; between 1931 and 1935, the number of deaths exceeded the births by 1,324 per year; in Budapest, by about 1,500. No statistics are available regarding the comparative incidence of fatal diseases among Jews.

Conditions in 1943 indicated that a substantial increase in Jewish mortality had occurred after 1938, resulting from the economic and psychological difficulties imposed under Nazi influence. Press reports also showed a highly increased rate of suicide among Jews after 1938. Without accurate statistics being available, indications are that the biological deficit of the Hungarian Jewish population between 1940 and 1943 will have been about 12,000 -- a serious, but of itself not a catastrophic condition. If it is allowed to continue, however, the sinking population trend will reduce the Jewish stock in Hungary by half within less than two generations.

STERILIZATION AND LIQUIDATION.

Sterilization or liquidation of incurables and others was not introduced in Hungary, either for Jews or other residents.

EDUCATION.

Elementary education was compulsory and free of tuition fees for Jews as well as for the rest of the population, and remained so after the introduction of anti-Jewish measures. Secondary schooling was free only to especially gifted children. No limitation on the attendance of Jews was set in the elementary and secondary

school systems, and generally speaking, there were no disturbances regarding Jewish attendance. Two numerus clausus laws limited the attendance of Jews at universities to 6% of the total enrollment, as discussed earlier. At some universities, anti-Jewish demonstrations occurred as late as 1942. In Kolozsvár, Transylvania, one Jewish student was killed during an anti-Semitic riot in the spring of 1942.

Public education was and remained under the control of the Hungarian government, represented by the Minister of Cults and Education, whose authority extended also over confessional and private schools. Nazi influence expressed itself in the establishment of an additional number of German-language primary and secondary schools in all German-inhabited parts of the country, where full defiance of Hungarian educational interests prevailed. Where Hungarian was the language of education, no infiltration of the Nazi spirit had been permitted until the end of 1941; after 1923 -- when the Bethlen government suppressed the anti-Jewish bias instilled in textbooks during the early years of the Horthy regime -- there were no anti-Semitic tenets or references in the curricula. On the other hand, a large number of reactionary teachers had continued to be admitted to the public school system, and their personal influence was subversive. Compulsory Catholic and even Protestant religious instruction had been misused for the propagation of an anti-Jewish bias. One of the protectors of these tendencies was -- from 1934 until the spring of 1943 -- Valentine Homan, a Swabian-German lieutenant of Premier Goemboes. The German minority, which had come to enjoy the privileges of a State within a State, followed Nazi tenets in its growing school system.

Only scattered index figures are available for the number of Jews in the elementary and secondary schools and the universities. In 1920-21, 4.4% of the pupils of elementary schools were Jews; in 1935-36, only 2.5%, representing a reduction of 13,700 as against an increase of 105,000 in the total number of pupils in the elementary schools. In apprentice schools the percentage fell from 10.5% to 6.6%, in the so-called "civic schools" (a school between the elementary and high school type), from 19.9% to 9.6%, a reduction of 6,300, as against an increase of 15,500 in the total enrollment. In secondary schools, the enrollment of Jews fell by 3,000, from 25% to 16.3%; in commercial schools, by 1,700, from 35.1% to 18.9%.

It may be said with certainty that the drop in the enrollment of Jews in the school system continued into the 1940's, although there was no obstacle to the admission of Jews to secondary schools, and elementary schooling remained compulsory.

The Budapest Jewish religious community maintained about 15 religious elementary schools, two high schools and one technical high school. About 50 larger provincial religious communities in pre-Munich Hungary had their own Jewish elementary schools, and the community of Delrecen had a high school. Many of these provincial schools were in bad straits in the 1940's, as the result of the economic pressure exerted on the Jews. The Orthodox communities, especially in the northeast part of the country, maintained a number of traditional Hebrew schools (Hadorim), and there were several Yeshivoth (talmudical academies). Sunday religious schools were provided in some progressive communities. All Jewish students in public, Christian confessional or private elementary and high schools were required to take two hours of religious instruction a week and a Sabbath afternoon religious service. Teachers were provided by the Jewish communities.

There was one Jewish theological seminary in Hungary, the Francis Joseph Central Rabbinical Seminary in Budapest. It was founded in 1867 by the Congressional

group of communities, with the aid of one million gold crowns put at the disposal of Hungarian Jews by a royal decision to turn back a collective fine imposed by the Austrian military rule in 1849, as punishment for the support Jews gave to the Hungarian war of independence in 1848-49. The seminary also maintained a Jewish teachers' institute.

As far as is known, the curricula of Jewish schools remained unchanged, even in 1943; it consisted of the general curricula of the public schools, supplemented by additional religious subjects, such as Bible study in Hebrew, Jewish religious ethics and history. The total number of students in attendance in these schools in 1943 may be put at between 5,000 and 6,000.

The support of the various types of schools in Hungary was divided, with the Catholic Church predominant. During the school year of 1935-36, the Catholic Church maintained 41.3% of all the elementary schools, the state 18.5%, the municipalities 12.1%, while the remaining 28.1% were supported by Protestants, Jews and other groups. The Catholic share in the maintenance of secondary schools was 24.3%, that of the state 37% and the municipalities 20.4%. Before 1941, a number of Jewish schools obtained state or municipal subsidies, or both. The Francis Joseph Rabbinical Seminary was also aided by state subsidies until 1941.

Even during the liberal era which came to an end in 1919, the number of Jews serving as teachers in primary and secondary schools was insignificant. There were a comparatively large number of university professors, however, notably in the fields of economics, history, mathematics, medicine, physics and literature. During the Horthy regime, Jews who were teachers of all grades had been consistently retired on pension. In 1943, there were probably between 1,500 and 2,000 Jews teaching in the public schools, including teachers of religion.

Teachers are appointed by the Minister of Cults and Education, or by municipal and confessional councils, with the consent of the Minister.

JEWISH WELFARE.

Social insurance was a state function in Hungary, and public welfare was in the hands of the municipalities and private organizations. In the liberal era, there had been no anti-Jewish bias in either the municipal or private welfare organizations; during the Horthy regime, however, many of the organizations in both categories had stopped helping Jews. Jewish welfare agencies had to take over their care.

No family, old age or unemployment relief existed, except such as was granted by Socialist Labor Unions for limited periods. Official social insurance covered only medical care, hospitalization, and daily allowances for curable disabilities or temporary injuries. No relief of any kind existed for agricultural workers. War invalids and widows were pensioned. Civil service jobs had their own pensions, as did many private business concerns. There was never any discrimination against Jews in any of these fields.

The most important relief work undertaken by the Jews was the distribution of alms and food among the needy by religious communities, Hebra Kadisha societies

and women's organizations. In Budapest, in addition to four Jewish hospitals, there was a home for the blind, a home for deaf-mute children, three homes for the aged, and three orphan asylums -- all large, modern institutions. The Jewish Patronage Society (Zsido Patronage Egyesület) provided for the care of delinquent children, and for summer vacations for poor children. The Jewish Cultural Society (Zsido Közművelődési Egyesület) maintained a Mensa Academica and a home for poor university students. There was also a Mensa Academica in Pecs and one in Szeged. The Jewish Committee to aid Jewish Students Abroad (Külföldi Zsido Diakbizottság) paid tuition fees and sent allowances to Jewish students forced out of Hungary by the Numerus Clausus laws. The Jewish Handicraft and Agricultural Society (Zsido Kezműes Földműves Egyesület) sheltered and educated Jewish handicraft and agricultural overseer apprentices. Since the 1920's, these organizations had been financed exclusively by the Jews of Hungary.

With the enactment of the First Jew Law in 1938, the increase in the numbers of Jews who, having been made jobless, would be thrust on public support resulted in the establishment of the Central Jewish Assistance Committee, about whose accomplishments only scant data are available. During the first five months of 1939, 4,382 persons applied for jobs and 3,068 people sought retraining at the retraining schools maintained by the Committee. In 1938, only 8,630 persons had applied to the Committee for aid in emigration; during 1939, 56,066 persons applied. Only 620 persons were aided in emigrating by the Committee in 1939.

In 1940 the activities of the Committee included: industrial vocational retraining in 200 retraining centers and trade schools, and for prospective farmers, on several large estates; the maintenance of several apprentice homes; aid to some 10,000 needy Austrian, German, Polish, Slovakian and Roumanian Jewish refugees; aid to some 30,000 impoverished Jews in Carpatho-Ruthenia; child care; the maintenance of soup kitchens in a number of localities, and the distribution of clothes.

During 1941, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee contributed \$141,000 toward the work of the Central Jewish Assistance Committee, including \$42,000 for refugee aid. The total expenditure of the Hungarian committee on refugee aid alone in 1941 amounted to \$140,500. The committee also sent \$6,000 worth of food to the Hungarian-Polish border for a group of Jewish deportees from Hungary. For aid to Jews in the poverty-stricken areas of Carpatho-Ruthenia, Upper Hungary and Transylvania, \$87,000 was expended in 1941. Vocational training took \$22,000; assistance to unemployed Jews in Budapest, \$105,000. The dollar has a purchasing power of at least 12 pengos.

The Jewish Cultural Society undertook the support and encouragement of Jewish students, scientists, writers and artists. Feeding stations for these people were maintained, books by Jewish writers were published, lectures, concerts, theatrical and operatic performances were sponsored. No information regarding either the Central Jewish Assistance Committee or the Jewish Cultural Society was available for 1942 and 1943. American aid was withdrawn, of course, after Pearl Harbor. It is uncertain whether even the large, well-established Jewish welfare institutions were able to keep themselves going. In general, there was no government interference. Administrative assistance was given to the extent that permits were granted for fund collections, etc.

CHILD CARE.

Foundlings and children born out of marriage were cared for by the state, orphan asylums were maintained mainly by municipalities and religious communities. Disabled and handicapped children were largely cared for by private organizations and religious groups. The League for the Defense of Children (Gyermekvédő Liga) provided summer vacations; the Free Masons of Budapest, although officially dissolved, provided free bread and milk among poor children of the city, and also sponsored a home for crippled children.

During the Horthy regime, child welfare was left more and more to the Jewish communities. There were three large Jewish orphan asylums in Budapest, and two smaller ones in the provinces. The Jewish Patronage Society (Zsido Patronage Egyesület) cared for a few hundred delinquents, and sought to improve home conditions in the poorer quarters. Destitute Jewish children were sent to summer camps. A Jewish branch of the Boy Scout movement ran a number of Jewish Scout Camps. How many of these undertakings and institutions have remained functioning, in view of the strained economic conditions of the Jews of Hungary, is problematical.

Juvenile delinquency was not a major problem in Hungary, despite the grave social condition of the landless peasantry. First and second minor offenders were entrusted to the care of semi-official Patronage Societies maintained by the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish groups respectively. The Societies either put the children on probation into the temporary charge of volunteer foster parents, or with paid guardians. Third offenders, or those guilty of grave crimes, were sentenced to state institutions of correction. Anti-Jewish discrimination was hardly evident in the matter of juvenile delinquency; the courts cooperated with the Jewish Patronage Society on the same terms as with the Catholic and the Protestant societies.

WELFARE WORKERS.

Almost all the welfare institutions in Hungary were creations of the liberal era. Many of the pioneers and sponsors in the field had been Jews. During the Horthy period, all Jewish welfare workers serving state, municipal or general non-sectarian institutions were eliminated. Many of them entered the employ of Jewish welfare institutions. Directorates, also, had included Jews during the liberal era, but under Horthy the leadership became almost exclusively non-Jewish.

HISTORY OF ANTI-SEMITISM.

Until the First World War, the population of Hungary was an island of resistance against two separate anti-Semitic currents: the anti-democratic anti-Semitism of Czarist Russia, and the middle-class anti-Semitism of Germany. Hungary resisted the first because it was tantamount to resisting Russian influence in the Balkans, and also because the Jews -- with their quick orientation to Hungarian ways and the Hungarian language -- provided a weight against non-Hungarian minority groups. Economically the Jews were important because the Hungarians had little adaptability or training in commercial and professional fields. The peasant population resisted anti-Semitism, offered as a bait instead of land reform, because they soon learned that it was a useless sop. Among the urban population, middle-class agitation was able to win considerable support. It may be said, however, that the bulk of the Hungarian population -- including peasants, industrial workers, members of the aristocracy and most of the really educated group -- did not become converted to anti-Semitic doctrines.

The government attitude toward Jews, beginning with the establishment of the Horthy regime, was determined by several interactive factors. Anti-Semitism remained a permanent implement in the political arsenal of the Horthy government because 1) urban German and Catholic middle-class Jew-baiters in Budapest wanted to take over the economic positions of the Jews; 2) the landed gentry had fought off land reform, leaving popular dissatisfaction to be appeased by the sacrifice of a substitute victim: the economic position of the Jews; 3) there was need of a common platform (i.e. anti-Semitism) to be shared by the urban reactionaries and the rural gentry; and 4) the crimes of the Bolshevik regime under Bela Kun (who had been a baptized Jew) needed to be permanently exploited as a justification for the maintenance of a reactionary political trend; and 5) despite the fact that the Jewish populations had suffered most under the short-lived Communist dictatorship, they were nevertheless propagandistically identified with the dictatorial groups.

In 1900, Premier Goemboes, the founder of the racial anti-Semitic political tendency in Hungary, inaugurated the slow but sure retrenchment of the economic bases of Jewish existence in Hungary. After 1938, the Horthy regime tried to use its anti-Semitic prestige as a means of barter with Hitler, hoping that radical anti-Jewish legislation would serve as a substitute for other concessions to the Nazis. The First Jew Law of 1938 was the first measure of its kind outside Germany. As the success of this barter became dubious, and even more after Allied persistence grew manifest, the official mind of Hungary began to waver.

Between 1937 and 1943, there was almost no mob violence against the Jews, with the exception of some atrocities committed in the annexed territories. Although the bulwark of anti-Semitic conviction lay in the middle-class, there were evidences of good will and cooperation even here. A surprisingly high number of non-Jewish employers, for instance, were indicted for refusing to dismiss their Jewish employees after the enactment of the Jew Laws.

The official anti-Semitic party of Hungary in 1943 was the large government party, called the Party of Hungarian Life (Magyar Elet Partja) whose 185 members in the Lower House were committed to support of the official anti-Jewish government policy. The prime agitators, however, of anti-Semitic doctrines were the outright Nazi groups. There were, in 1943 in the Lower House 42 representatives belonging to

one or the other of the four National Socialist parties, of which the largest were Major Ferenc Szalassi's Arrow Cross Party (Nyilaskereszt), and Premier Bela Imredy's Party of National Rebirth (Nemzeti Ujjaszuletes Partja). Although mutually inimical on other issues, these Nazi groups agreed on anti-Semitism. In May, 1943, Imredy introduced a no-confidence vote in the government, on the ground that the government refused to settle the Jewish question drastically. The motion was rejected. During the summer of 1943, German efforts were concentrated on forging a solid pro-Nazi bloc out of the various Nazi groups. Recriminations against Hungary for its obstinacy in not eliminating Jews from its economic and political system were repeatedly directed at the Hungarian government by the German press, which threatened action if a more satisfactory line was not taken.

FASCIST PARTIES AND LEADERS

There were several categories of Nazis, Fascists and anti-Semites in Hungary. The first category consisted of confessed Nazis openly labeling themselves as such in their party denominations. Four such parties existed, with a combined strength of between 30 and 36 parliamentary seats (in 1939 they had 42 seats). The Arrow Cross (Nyilaskereszt) Party under the leadership of Ferenc Szalassi, who was himself 'führer' and not a member of parliament, was the strongest. In 1939 they won 30 seats, but in 1942 had only 16, and the number was probably even lower in 1943. Some members of the party resigned, others were convicted of treason and some joined other groups, usually Imredy's Party of National Rebirth (Nemzeti Ujjaszuletes Partja), which seems to have won Hitler's confidence most. The National Socialist Party (Nemzeti Szocialista Partja), headed by Representatives Charles Meisler and Matthew Matolocsy obtained 9 seats in 1939; the National Socialist Party of Count G. Festetich and Zoltan Mesko 2 seats, and the National Socialist Party of Count Fidel Palfy one seat in 1938. All gained adherents subsequently from the Szalassi followers. Internecine quarrels make any estimate of their relative strength in 1943 difficult. They were used by Hitler as pressure groups against the Horthy regime, which -- in Jewish affairs as in others -- struggled to retain its own precarious existence and some shred of Hungarian independence. An Imredy government would probably submit entirely to that part of the Nazi program dealing with Jews, and would completely subordinate Hungary to the service of Hitler's war.

The leading anti-Semites in the Imredy Party of National Rebirth are, in addition to its leader, Stephen Milotay and Francis Rainiss, both members of parliament, newspapermen, and vicious pro-Nazi agitators. Others are Anthony Kunder, former army officer and Minister of Commerce in the Imredy cabinet, Andrew Jaross, Count Dominik Festetich, Francis Ulain and Bela Jurtsek. Many of them had belonged to the Goemboes junta.

Radical anti-Semites within the government ranks include William Brand, Henry Muschong, Anton Muehl, J. Zerinvary, Bela Teglassy, B. Torkos, Bela Huszovszky, George Biro, Nicholas Bonczos, John Szeder and George Bobory. Andrew Mecser was one of the Goemboes aides, in the early 1930's, in early scheming with Hitler. Michael Kolozsvary-Borcsa, chief of press in the Goemboes cabinet, was for a time chairman of the Journalists' Chamber. In April, 1943, Nicholas Lazar, a Jewish journalist, furnished evidence in court that the chairman had embezzled the Chambers' funds.

CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND THE JEWS.

Both the Catholic and Protestant clergy of Hungary have been represented in reactionary as well as liberal attitudes toward the Jews. An anti-Jewish trend among the Catholic clergy became noticeable as early as the 1880's; it was part of the anti-Semitic movement launched by Mayor Lueger of Vienna in the 1870's. After 1900, it was led mainly by several members of the Jesuit order who happened to be of Slovak or German extraction. Before the rise of the first anti-Jewish regime in 1919, however, the official attitude of the Catholic church, as represented by its Archbishop-Primates, was benevolent. In 1920, Catholic followers of the anti-Semitic factors of the clergy cooperated with the Protestants surrounding Regent Horthy in enacting the first educational numerus clausus. Only an overwhelmingly liberal popular sentiment managed to keep the anti-Semitic agitations in check between 1920 and 1938. In 1938, at the promulgation of the first Jew Law, the Primate Dr. Justinian Seredy, and Bishop Langfelder, in the name of Bench of Bishops, approved the proposed legislation in the Upper House. The Bench of Bishops also approved the enactment of the Second Jew Law in 1939, except that at this time the high clergy protested against penalizing converted Jews. Late in 1941, the official Catholic attitude changed. Various moves were made by leading members of the clergy on behalf of converted Jews and Jews in military labor units. In December, 1942, Seredy himself denounced racial, national, birth and class privileges. Nevertheless, anti-Jewish agitation continued among other representatives of the clergy.

The Hungarian Protestant churches, strongholds of religious liberalism, underwent a change with the establishment of the Horthy regime. Among the leaders of the reactionary group were Bishops Ladislas Ravasz of Budapest and Imre Szabo. Other Calvinist and Evangelical leaders retained the liberal tradition. Bishop Alexander Raffay took an open stand against the Jew Laws. Bishop Nicholas Jozan of the Unitarian church and Elemer Gyori, Calvinist Bishop of Transdanubia, also upheld the liberal tradition.

ANTI-SEMITIC PRESS

The chief Catholic anti-Jewish dailies of the early reactionary era had been Nemzeti Ujsag and Uj Nemzedek. Both had adopted a mollified tone by 1941. Szozat, organ of the Goemboes junta, went under in 1925. In 1943 the most brazenly anti-Semitic dailies, maintained by German subsidy, were Magyarszag, mouthpiece of the Arrow Cross Party, and Uj Magyarzag, organ of the Party of National Rebirth. Oliver Ruprecht was editor-publisher of the first; Stephen Milotay and Franz Rainisch of the second. These three men were the leading demagogues and corruptionists of the Hungarian press. Other dangerous Nazi publicists were Koloman Hubay (Huber), Franz Vajta, Andrew Jaross, Charles Megay-Meisler, John Huettnner, Edmund Malnasi, Franz Fiala, Paul Szvatko and Koloman Ratkay. The smaller Nazi groups published weeklies, edited largely by their respective leaders, such as Mesko, Festetich, and Palfy. The official government press struggled between keeping pace with the Nazi press as regards anti-Semitism and explaining the government's resistance to the extremist anti-Jewish proposals of the Nazi factions. Fuggetlenseg, Reggeli Magyarorszag and Esti Magyarorszag were government organs, edited by journalistic mediocrities.

EXTRA-LEGAL DISCRIMINATION.

Extra-legal discrimination was practically unknown between 1867 and 1919, except for a short period around 1900, when Baron Barkoczy, state secretary of education, tried to obstruct the appointment of Jewish high school teachers. The competition of agrarian consumers' cooperatives against Jewish village merchants may also be so classified. In 1919, the counter-revolutionary regime pensioned off -- and thus retired -- Jewish public officials in a wholesale fashion; hundreds were pensioned in the Budapest municipality alone. Between 1928 and 1930, under Bethlen, a few were reappointed by the national government. The period of reaction also introduced economic discrimination, including the refusal to renew expired trade licenses and the exclusion of Jewish business from public deliveries. This was also brought to an end by the Bethlen regime. Under Goemboes (1932-35), discrimination was aggravated. Private enterprise, including Jewish-owned firms, were forced to employ non-Jewish white-collar workers, and the export-import license system was manipulated to eliminate Jewish business.

The most important extra-legal discrimination under the Hitler influence was the maintenance of a Jewish compulsory labor service, to be dealt with in detail later. Concentration camps, in which were confined thousands of Hungarian and refugee Jews, were also extra-legal. Mass deportation was practiced only once, in July, 1941, when some 18,000 Jews who could not authenticate their citizenship were rounded up and sent to German-occupied Eastern Galicia. When some 12,000 were killed by Ukrainian bands under German command, the remaining 6,000 were hurriedly returned to Hungarian concentration camps by order of the Hungarian army command. Minor extra-legal discriminations include prohibitions against giving Jewish children "archaic Hungarian" first names; the reservation of Jewish-owned World War bonds over the value of 5,000,000 Pengo (paying neither capital or interest) for the purpose of a Jewish emigration fund; the elimination of all Jews from the service of the Chambers of Commerce and industry; the prohibition of Jews from selling newspapers; the withdrawal of Jewish taxi-drivers' licenses; the prohibition of the sale of real estate owned by Jews unless to the National Bank, and the conclusion of a Hungarian-German agreement on the exchange of "personal data" of individuals suspected of Jewish descent.

DISCRIMINATORY MEASURES.

Before the promulgation of the First Jew Law, the only measures which were directly aimed at anti-Jewish discrimination were the first Numerus Clausus law (1920: XXV) and the second (1928: XIV). The first law, while ostensibly applying to all national groups, and specifying that their attendance at the universities should correspond to their proportion in the population, or to 9/10 of it, was actually applied only to the Jews, whose attendance was set in practice at 6%. Until 1923, the proportion was rigidly adhered to in all the universities; later, because of poor attendance at the three provincial universities, only the University and Technical University of Budapest adhered to it literally. The second Numerus Clausus law, enacted in 1928 under the liberal Bethlen regime, was intended to palliate resentment abroad and to ease negotiations for an international loan. Race or nationality were eliminated as criteria for university admission, and the occupational status of the parents largely substituted. War orphans, children of

war veterans and of public employees were also given priority status. Before the enactment of the 1920 law, 11.6% of the university students were Jewish. By 1927-28, the proportion was 8.3%, the difference between that and the "legal" 6% being due to the higher rate of admission in the provincial faculties. The more liberal policy instituted by the second law raised the proportion in 1932-33 to 12%. After 1934, under Goemboes, restrictions tightened again, and in 1936-37, the proportion was only 7.4%, with 6.1% among freshmen. The Second Jew Law (1939: IV) supplanted the second Numerus Clausus law, limiting the admission of Jewish students to the first terms of universities to 6%, and in the economic and commercial department of the Budapest Technical University to 12%.

The Second Jew Law (1939) was an implementation of the various measures the First Jew Law (1938) had contained, providing that: Jews could not acquire Hungarian citizenship through naturalization, marriage or adoption; Jews and their dependents whose "circumstances do not necessitate their stay in the country" could be denaturalized; active and passive franchise could be exercised only by those Jews whose parents and grandparents had been born in Hungary; Jews could not be public officials, judges, teachers, public notaries, panel experts, translators, patent attorneys or public accountants, publishers, editors, producers or directors of plays and movies.

POLICE.

During the liberal era, Jews occasionally rose to positions of importance in the police force. Toward the end of the era, one of the two assistant police commissioners of Budapest was a Jew, and there were a few Jews serving as policemen and detectives. No Jews were in the service of the state police or the gendarmerie in the provinces. During the Horthy regime, all Jews, except two or three specially trained detectives, were dismissed, even in Budapest.

No special police force was established or detailed to handle Jewish affairs in Hungary after the submission to Nazi influence. The average police official, however, frequently representing the most narrow-minded, provincial nationalist and reactionary type was an excellent potential Jew-baiter. The attitude of most of the police was definitely malevolent toward the Jews, and mass injustices went far beyond the disciplinarian regime of the Minister of the Interior. Though corruption was not conspicuous in Hungary, a widespread system of graft developed in relation to the execution of the Jew Laws. In many cases, deportation was escaped through bribery.

The functions of the police in regard to the execution of the Jew Laws were mainly over the following violations: failure to report the employment status of Jews; false reports concerning their employment status; continued employment of Jews, contrary to the provisions of the Jew Law; clandestine participation of Jews in the conduct of newspapers, theatres, motion picture houses, etc.; proceedings against non-Jews for acting as "dummies" for Jews in the sale of monopoly articles or in the procurement of contracts for public supplies, and administrative procedures against Jews who could not "authenticate" their citizenship, and whose stay in the country was not regarded as "motivated by their circumstances," which called for confinement in concentration camps or deportation.

TRAVEL, PASSPORT AND COMMUNICATION REGULATIONS.

With the outbreak of the war, travel abroad for all Hungarians required a special permit from the Minister of the Interior.

There were no special passports for Jews, even under Nazi pressure. On the contrary, the Hungarian government in 1939 eliminated from passport forms the question regarding the religious confession of the bearer. This was intended to facilitate the admission to other countries of Jewish emigrants inclined to conceal their religion, and was in accordance with the policy of the Second Jew Law, which authorized the government to promote Jewish emigration. There were no known restrictions for Jews regarding railroad travel, the use of public highways and parks, street car, bus or truck travel, ownership of motor cars and horse carriages, or the use of waterways or air transportation.

In 1940 the ownership of radio sets was prohibited to Jews. Nevertheless, the majority of those indicted for listening to and disseminating foreign news favorable to the Allies -- a crime for all Hungarians -- were Jews. There were no known restrictions on the use of telephone or telegraph facilities.

FOOD AND RATIONING.

The prohibition of the ritual slaughter of cattle in the First Jew Law of 1938, inaugurated a period of food deficiency for observant Jews, although in most communities the ritual slaughter of poultry was continued and in some localities even the ritual slaughter of cattle tolerated. There was no indication of discrimination in food or fuel rationing. The attempt of the administrative head of Pest County to forbid the sale of edible fats to Jews was revoked by the government. Although local administrative discrimination may have been practiced in remote parts, Hungary was the only country in Eastern Europe where the Jews were not restricted to specific, inadventagous shopping hours. Their difficulty lay in finding the wherewithal to buy the food they were allowed.

IDENTIFICATION CARDS.

There were no special identification card requirements for Jews, even after 1938. The possession of citizenship papers was made the criterion in the raids on "alien" Jews, as well as in applications for various official documents. This was the method used to list the Jews who could be classified as "alien." There no restrictions of any kind for Jews regarding travel within the country.

FORCED LABOR.

Between 60,000 and 150,000 Jews (so widely did reports vary) were engaged in compulsory work in labor camps and battalions under military command. Able-bodied men between the ages of 18 and 60 were drafted for this service. They obtained food, shelter and the regular military pay, which had only token value. Clothing, however,

was not provided, as for the military; the Jews had to report for service in their own civilian attire, and with their own blankets. They wore yellow armbands, without the Star of David. Non-Jewish forced laborers wore white armbands; this latter group was recruited from the ranks of unskilled laborers, while the Jewish labor squads consisted of overwhelmingly middle-class elements, and a large percentage of former reserve officers of the Hungarian army. In exceptional cases, according to a decree, Jews could be put into military service, but there was no evidence that this had been done. The labor battalions were used for general construction and fortification work within Hungary, and on the Russian front, where there were many casualties. One report indicated that a number of Jews had been put at the disposal of the German Todt organization, to build fortifications for the Germans on Russian territory.

TAXES AND FINES.

Jews bore a larger burden in ordinary government taxation because the greater strain was deliberately laid on industry and commerce as compared with landowning. Moreover, non-Jewish business men were frequently treated with obvious leniency by the tax-collecting authorities. Discrimination in the levying of taxes was more difficult, because Jews participated in the work of the tax commissions, especially in Budapest.

Until December, 1941, government agencies could collect taxes for the Jewish religious communities in cases of default. This cooperation was then withdrawn.

Special penalties were provided for violation of the Second Jew Law and the Marriage Law. For "misdemeanors" in the violation of the Second Jew Law, maximum fines of 8,000 pengo (about \$1,500 in pre-war nominal value) could be imposed; for "offenses", imprisonment for a maximum of one year and a maximum fine of 20,000 Pengo, for "felonies" imprisonment for three years, a fine of 20,000 pengo, the loss of public office and the suspension of political rights. A "felony", for instance, consisted of furnishing authorities with false data concerning the employment status of a Jew. The penalties were applicable to both Jewish and non-Jewish offenders.

Christian-Jewish marriage, and illegal relations between Jews and "decent" Christian women could impose on the Jewish partner imprisonment for a maximum of three years, a fine of 20,000 pengo and the loss of political rights.

The only special levy imposed upon the Jews of Hungary was a decree, promulgated early in 1943, setting a 10% levy as a "hypothecary loan" on the taxable value of all taxable urban real estate property owned by Jews. The proceeds were to be used for national defense; the idea was that Jews, being barred from active combat service, should be taxed instead. In May, 1943, the discriminatory levy lost its sting with the imposition of a general property levy of 10% affecting all categories of private property owned by all Hungarian subjects.

GROUPS-IN-EXILE.

There are three Hungarian political groups abroad, intent upon having a role in the political life of post-war Hungary. In the middle of 1941, Representative Tibor Eckhardt, head of the Small Farmers' Party in Hungary, arrived in the United States with the purpose of forming a Hungarian political group for the support of Hungary's post-war interests. Although the Small Farmers' Party is at present a staunch opponent of Nazism, Eckhardt's anti-Semitic and reactionary past proved an insuperable obstacle in the way of his ambitions. Under the pressure of American democratic public opinion, Eckhardt was soon forced to liquidate the "Free Hungary Movement" he had started. Jewish support of this movement remained limited to the Chairman and Rabbi of a small and new New York Hungarian Jewish Community (New Light Community).

In London, Count Michael Karolyi, the leader of the long defunct Hungarian Republic of 1919, is at the head of a Hungarian movement counting on British and Russian support. His support in Hungarian circles in London is limited to some radical intellectuals, among them a number of Jewish refugees. The "Federation of Democratic Hungarians", a group founded in the United States by Prof. Rustem Vambery, may be regarded as an American auxiliary of Karolyi's movement. The group enjoys the support of the small leftist Hungarian groups, and of a small number of Hungarian Jewish radicals.

In London, there is a small, democratic middle-of-the-road group which was founded by Dr. Anthony Zsilinszky, former secretary of the Hungarian legation in London. After the suicide of Zsilinszky, Andrew Revay, a journalist took over leadership. The general tendency of the group seems to be closest to the aims of the U. S. government. In the U. S., Dr. Anthony Balasy, a former diplomat, is considered the outstanding representative of the democratic, middle-of-the-road, constructive trend among Hungarians.

The bulk of Hungarian Jewish refugees in the U. S. and in Britain have hitherto withheld their support both from the Eckhardt and the Karolyi-Vambery groups. In 1943, no important Hungarian Jewish groups had yet been organized either in Great Britain or in the United States.

JEWISH LEADERS IN HUNGARY.

The official head of the "National Chancery" of the organization of Congressional Jewish communities, and, at the same time, chairman of the large religious community of Budapest, was Court Councilor Samuel Stern, a food processing industrialist. The religious head of Congressional Jewry had been, until his death in February, 1943, Dr. Simon Hevesi, chief rabbi of Budapest and chairman of the Rabbinical Assembly of Hungary. His son, and successor, Rabbi Dr. Francis Hevesi, of Budapest has repeatedly visited the United States and speaks English well. The head of the Orthodox National Chancery was Samuel Frankl-Kahan, (Budapest); of the Status Quo group, Rabbi Dr. B. Bernstein (Nyiregyhaza).

The Board of the Jewish Community of Budapest consisted of the following members: Samuel Stern, chairman; Dr. Ernest Boda, lawyer, vice chairman; members: Dr. Charles Wilhelm, corporation lawyer; Dr. Leo Buday-Goldberger, textile industrialist, and former member of the Upper House of parliament; Coloman Frey, former

chairman of the Budapest Stock and Commodity Exchange; Henry Kalman, president, British-Hungarian Bank; Emil Vertes, former chairman, Association of Budapest Merchants; Dr. Emil Zahler, physician; Dr. Ernest Brody, lawyer, member of parliament; Prof. Max Rosenak, physician; Dr. Louis Lang, lawyer, former member of Upper House.

Jewish political figures include: Dr. Bela Fabian, former member of parliament; Dr. Geza Desi, former member of parliament, and a partisan of the conservative-liberal leader, Count Stephen Bethlen. (Dr. Desi is at present acting chairman of the Budapest Hebra Kadisha)

Labor leaders who are Jews include: Dr. Imre Gyocerk, John Esztergalyos, Alexander Propper and Daniel Varnay, all former Social Democratic members of parliament. Leading industrialists are: Baron Alphonse Weiss, head of Manfred Weiss, Ltd., a heavy industrial concern employing between 35,000 and 40,000 workers; Eugene Vida, chairman, Hungarian General Coal Mines Co., Ltd., a leading enterprise; Baron Andrew Hatvany, sugar industrialist; Alexander Deutsch, chemical industrialist; Gustave Lang, machine industrialist; Geza Drucker, Alexander Fobath and Emanuel Agoston, textile industrialists. Baptized Jews: Dr. Francis Chorin, former chairman, National Association of Industrialists, head of the Rimamurany-Salgotajan coal, iron and steel combine; Dr. Paul Biro, his chief aide; Dr. Joseph Hiller, chairman, Bauxite Industry, Ltd.

Leading Jewish bankers: Dr. Emil Stein, former president, Commercial Bank of Budapest; Dr. Stephen Perenyi, former director, Hungarian General Bank of Credit; Emanuel Halasz, former director, General Savings Bank; Baron Marcel Madarassy-Beck, chairman, Hungarian Bank of Escompte. Baptized: Baron George Ullmann, Joseph Bun, Otto Conrad.

Leading Jewish journalists: Max Markus, until the Hitler regime, chairman of the Association of Hungarian Journalists; Thomas Kobor, former editor of Az Ujsag; Imre Salusinsky, former editor of Az Est, Pesti Neplo and Magyarorszag; Nicholas Lazar, former editor of Reggeli Ujsag; Dr. George Kecskemeti, former editor of Pester Lloyd; Dr. Bela Agai, former publisher of Az Ujsag; Bela Zsolt, Simon Kemeny, Joseph Vago, George Kemeny, Dr. Charles Sebestyen and Samuel Nagy.

Among thousands of Jewish lawyers, the most noted are the following: Dr. Charles Wilhelm, Dr. Andrew Gluecksthal, Dr. Erwin Doroghy, Dr. Ignace Friedman, Dr. Elias Hevesi and Dr. Bela Berend.

Of the large number of Jewish physicians the following may be mentioned: Prof. Max Rosenak, Prof. Ludwig Levy, Prof. Z. Aszodi, Dr. Bela Molnar, Dr. Imre Fodor, Dr. Eugene Biederman, Dr. Ignace Farkas.

JEWISH LEADERS IN EXILE.

Community representatives: In the United States; Berthold Magyar, textile industrialist, former member of the Board of the Jewish Community of Budapest, (New York); Eugene Hevesi, son of the chief rabbi of Budapest, former Hungarian commercial attache in the U. S., at present connected with the American Jewish Committee; in Canada; Dr. Desider Rakonitz, former attorney of the Orthodox National Chancery,

Prominent Jewish businessmen in the United States; Berthold Magyar, Albert Ungar, Henry Fleischman, George Popper -- all textile industrialists; Alexander and Siegfried Lindenbaum, oil industry; in Canada; Joseph Schober, textile industry.

Journalists, writers: In the United States, Franz Molnar, the famous playwright; Dr. Ladislav Boross, former editor of Esti Kurir, and former secretary general of International Association of Journalists as well as of the Society of Hungarian Journalists; Hans Habe, writer (the latter is baptized).

Prominent physicians in the United States; Dr. Henry Lax, Dr. Gideon Eroes, Dr. Bela Koevesi, Dr. Julius Hollo (internal diseases), Dr. Stephen Rosenak, Dr. Alexander Baron (surgery), Dr. Arthur Linksz (ophthalmology), Dr. Julius Baron (X-ray).

At the end of the war, the original staff of professional welfare workers remaining in Hungary, expanded as it may have been by recruits from the general welfare field working under the aegis of the Central Jewish Assistance Committee, may be turned to as the foundation of reconstruction activities. Only American and British Jewish welfare organizations will probably be in a position to cooperate. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee is likely to assume leadership in the field, but may be aided by the American Joint Reconstruction Foundation; the ORT Society for the promotion of trade and agriculture among Jews; the OSE World Union for health protection; the HICEM (Hias-Ica Emigration Association) and the Jewish Agency for Palestine.